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CLARION

VOL. 12, no. 3 (issue no. 39)

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President's Message

Preparations for the annual PAN Convention to be held on October 26-28, 1995 at the Expomart in Monroeville, PA are well underway. This year's convention promises to be bigger and better, with more educational forums, more exhibits, a larger auction, and an expanded bourse area. In continuing our part of promoting numismatics, there will also be a wooden dollar or rolled cent given free to all who attend the convention. Also, plan on attending our annual **BANQUET**, which features an outstanding guest speaker, as well as the presentation of awards.



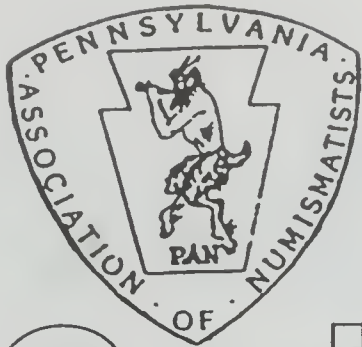
I urge all who have an interest in numismatics to attend the convention, and for those who would like to get involved with PAN, please contact one of the officers. With more people involved, we can continue to expand what we offer to the numismatic public.

In an effort to promote numismatics, PAN currently offers a free membership to all of the Clubs in Pennsylvania. At this time, I want to urge the club officers and the individual members to consider becoming members of our fine statewide organization. We welcome your involvement. As an individual member, you will have the ability to guide and shape PAN. You will also receive our publication, the "**CLARION**," which features articles from some of our state's outstanding collectors and researchers, who freely give of their time and expertise, all for your numismatic pleasure.

As a result of numerous inquiries from the numismatic public and attending dealers about a second convention in the Pittsburgh area, I'm happy to announce that PAN is currently making arrangements for a second convention -- to be held on May 10-12, 1996 at the Expomart in Monroeville, PA. I urge you to mark your calendar now, and plan to attend.

The next meeting of PAN is scheduled at 2:00 p.m. at the Harrisburg Coin Club show, to be held at Harrisburg's River Rescue Headquarters, 1119 South Cameron Street, Harrisburg, PA on Sept. 30, 1995. All members and guests are welcome.

Richard E. Cross
President



P.A.N. Coin Show

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CWTS: Civil War Token Society
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****ROBBERY ALERT****

A significant amount of items were stolen on 6/6/95 from a coin & stamp store at 2930 W. Liberty Ave., Pittsburgh, PA. A large reward is offered for information, finding and prosecuting. Apparently, several people were involved. If you have any possible information that might help, please call the Dormont, PA Police at 412-561-7000 or the store: 412-276-6782.

OR

E-mail: cybercoins@aol.net Internet address: coins@nauticom.net

Among the items stolen:

Lincoln Cents

1921-s	MS 65 RB	\$1,950.
1923-s	MS 64 PQ	\$1,495.
1925-s	MS 65 RB	\$1,950.

2-Cent Piece

1872	MS 63	\$1,195.
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3-Cent Nickels

1873	MS 65	\$2,275.
1877	PR 66	\$2,950.
1879/?	MS 65	\$1,875.
1885	MS 65	\$1,985.

Shield Nickels

1871	PR 65	\$1,150.
1874	MS 66	\$1,975.
1875	MS 65+	\$2,850.
1879	MS 66 PQ	\$1,925.
1879/8	RARE	\$1,250.
1883	PR 66	\$1,495.

Liberty Nickels

1883 NC	PL 65	\$ 950.
1884	PR66	\$1,750.
1885	MS 65	\$1,795.
1885	PR 66-	\$1,495
1886	MS 65-	\$1,750.
1888	MS 66	\$1,250.
1909	PR 66	\$1,275.

Buffalo Nickels

1917/17	MS 64/5	\$1,350.
1924-s	AU-obv	\$1,275.
1927-D	MS 65	\$1,950.
1937-D 3leg	MS 61	\$1,495.

3-Cent -Silver

1852 Cl.die	MS 66 PQ	\$2,950.
1864	PR 67	\$6,850.
1871	PR 66	\$4,650.

Half Dimes

1794	F+	\$1,250.
1796(Likerty)	F	\$1,250.
1797(15 stars)	VF	\$2,150.
1797(16 stars)	30	\$1,950.
1797(13 stars)	F	\$ 995.
1802		\$7,500.
1854	MS 65	\$2,250.
1860	MS 65-	\$1,850.
1865		\$1,900.
1867	PR	\$4,975.

Dimes

1796	F/VF	\$1,995.
1797(13strs)		\$1,350.
1798 sm8	AVF	\$1,750.
1804		\$ 750.
1805	VF 30	\$1,175.
1807	VF	\$ 895.

Other Items to Look For:

A couple pounds scrap gold & platinum
10 100 oz. silver bars; 200+ sil.rounds
300+ rolls of Morgan & Peace Dollars
Jewelry - rings, necklaces, bracelets
6 rolls 1995 silver eagles
coins - World, Ancient, Errors

450+ rolls of Walking Lib. Halves
50 rolls of Franklin & Kennedy Halves
Proof coins - rolls & indiv.pieces
Error bills and 100+ sil.certifs.
credit cards...passports
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early proof set...pocket watches
Letters - Pres.Coolidge & T.Roosevelt
Certified Coins...50+ GSA CC Dollars

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Norma Brodmerkle of Barre, MA tells us, "I believe that NN is superior to all others for many reasons including Coin market, which is an easy-to-use, complete and accurate listing."

She also added,

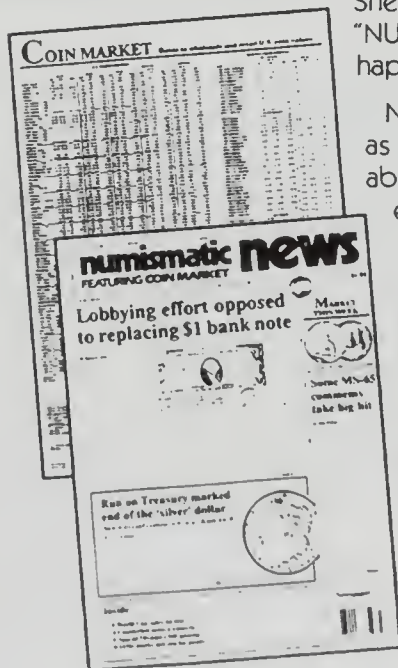
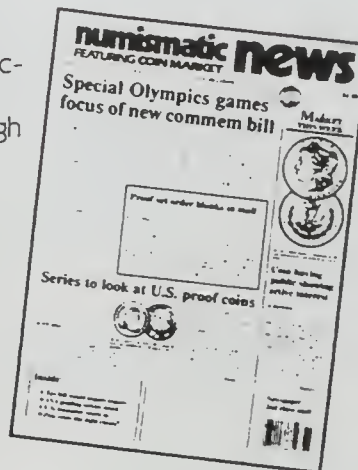
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Does Selma Burke - not John Sinnock - deserve credit for the Roosevelt dime design?

Was public outcry against nudity on the Standing Liberty quarter the real reason for the design change, or was it just a simple mixup?

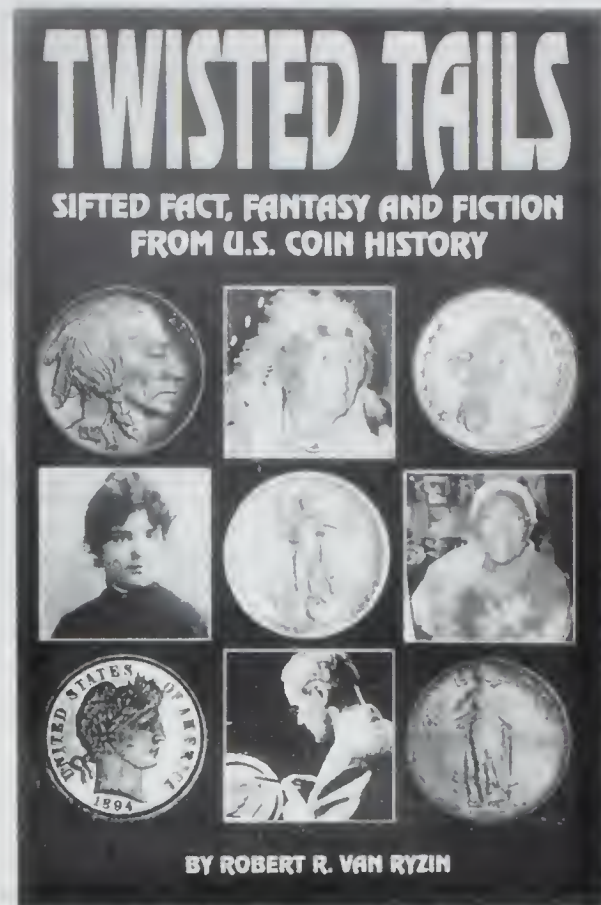
Who really was the third Indian who posed for the Indian Head nickel? For that matter, was Black Diamond really the model for the bison?

These and dozens of other longtime numismatic legends are challenged and thoroughly studied in a new book from Krause Publications entitled **Twisted Tails** by Robert Van Ryzin. The award-winning author is editor of **Coins** and **Coins Prices** magazines and author of another Krause book, **Striking Impressions: A Visual Guide to United States Coins**.

Van Ryzin says his study of the folklore and traditions surrounding U.S. coinage is not an attempt to re-write numismatic history or chastise those who have repeated these stories. These traditions should, however, be re-explored and re-examined, the author says.

"It is through this questioning that the hobby's knowledge has grown from the time when Charles Barber's halves, quarters and dimes were mistakenly called 'Morgans'," he writes in the book's introduction, "and collectors held fast to the erroneous belief that the rare 1804 silver dollars were indeed struck in 1804."

Van Ryzin explores Burke's claim that Sinnock plagiarized her design from a life-study she did of Franklin Roosevelt in the early 1940s. Sinnock, the former U.S. Mint chief engraver, has always been credited with the design.



The author's study of this question is based in part on an extensive interview he had with Burke in 1993 in her studio in Pennsylvania. The 94-year-old sculptor was schooled as a nurse but turned to art in the 1920s.

Hermon MacNeil's Standing Liberty quarter design included an exposed right breast on Liberty when released in 1916. It's long been believed that the public's desire for modesty was the reason for the design change.

"Records seem to indicate, however, that the story is largely myth," the book says.

The soft-covered book, **Twisted Tails**, has 240 pages. It can be purchased from numismatic book dealers or directly from the publisher for \$9.95 plus \$1.50 shipping. Write Krause Publications, Book Dept. NR-PQR1, 700 E. State St., Iola, WI 54990-0001. (Phone (toll free) 1-800-258-0929.)

MICHIGAN CLUBS BOYCOTT COMMEMS

Two clubs in Michigan - the Lansing Coin Club and the Livingston County Coin Club - have recently voted to adopt the "Swoger Proclamation," which is as follows:

Whereas America's coin collectors have paid for the success of America's commemorative coin program for more than a century, and

Whereas all the people of the United States, national monuments, several states, counties, municipalities, events, and organizations have benefitted through this program by the money provided by America's coin collectors, and

Whereas the Congress of the United States has shown by its inaction regarding this subject that it deems that

1) the 200th Anniversary of the United States Mint and the Commencement of our National Coinage is of so little importance that it is not worthy of now being celebrated with its own separate issue within our National Commemorative Coin program, and

2) America's coin collectors are not a worthy enough group, nor their activity important enough, that they should now be entitled to have coins struck to commemorate the genesis of their activities in the United States, nor that they should have access to that program to further their science; and

3) the collections and studies of the National Numismatic Collections, the Museum of American History, and Smithsonian Institution are not of enough importance to them worthy to benefit through America's coin program; and

Whereas the requests and pleadings from America's coin collectors through their representative organizations have fallen on the deaf ears of their government,

Now, therefore be it resolved that the LIVINGSTON COUNTY COIN CLUB hereby urges all its members to join with our fellow coin collectors throughout this nation and boycott America's National Commemorative Coin Program until such time as the U.S. Mint Bicentennial Coin Act is enacted.

.....

At each of the two Michigan clubs, it's reported that the vote in favor of the boycott was a "landslide."

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The seventh reprinting of an important out-of-print numismatic reference, **THE CLEANING AND PRESERVATION OF COINS AND MEDALS**, is being readied by Sanford J. Durst, publisher of numismatic books.

The book, originally written by noted European numismatist Gerhard Welter and translated by noted numismatist Hans Schulman, is a 128-page English language illustrated compendium of methods for the caring of and preserving coins and medals. It covers subjects such as descriptions of 14 different metals and their properties, natural and artificial changes in those metals, cleaning dirt, corrosion, laquer, encrustation, oxidation, brightening coins, patina, gilding and plating, degilding and removal of plating, straightening bends, treatment of scratches, mounting marks, making coin impressions, storage practices, testing metals for authenticity, photography of coins, inventory methods, and much more valuable information.

Durst is reprinting the reference (the seventh time in 18 years) on high quality paper.

A special additional chapter is included in the book on the care, restoration and preservation of paper money and other old documents by James J. Curto.

The book is priced at \$16, plus \$2 shipping. A list of over 100 numismatic titles is also available free for a stamped-addressed envelope. The address: Sanford J. Durst, 11 Clinton Ave., Rockville Centre, N.Y. 11570. (Phone 516-766-4444)

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R.V. Polito Auctions is proud to announce they will be holding a Coin & Currency Auction in conjunction with the P.A.N. Convention being held at the Pittsburgh ExpoMart, Monroeville, PA on October 27, 28 & 29, 1995. The Auction will be held **Friday evening**, starting approximately at 7 p.m.

The firm will be accepting mail bids on this sale to maximize national exposure for your coins and currency. R.V. Polito Auctions currently maintains a very extensive mailing list of mail bid buyers nationally. They will charge a 15% flat rate, with no buyer's premium - which should bring higher prices for your material.

They will be accepting consignments for this Auction up to **September 1, 1995**. Any questions? Don't hesitate to phone them.

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AUG. 5 - Lebanon, PA - Lebanon Valley Coin Club 55th Annual Show, Plaza Mall, Rte. 72 South

AUG. 6 - So. Williamsport, PA - Williamsport Area Numis. Society 23rd Annual Show, Zafar Grotto Refaz Club, East 2nd Avenue

AUG. 16-20 - Anaheim, CA - A.N.A. 104th Convention, Anaheim Convention Center, 800 West Katelia.

SEPT. 10 - Youngwood, PA - Greensburg Coin Club 36th Annual Show, Fire Hall, South 2nd Street.

SEPT. 16,17 - Indiana, PA - Indiana Coin Club 37th Annual Fall Show, Best Western University Inn, 1545 Wayne Ave., Rte. 119 South.

SEPT. 23,24 - Lancaster, PA - Red Rose Coin Club 37th Annual Show, Farm & Home Center, Arcadia Road (at Rte. 72 & Rte. 30).

SEPT. 30 - Harrisburg, PA - Harrisburg Coin Club Show, River Rescue Hdqrs., 1119 South Cameron Street.

OCT. 20-22 - Pennsauken, N.J. - Middle Atlantic Numis. Assn., So. Jersey Expo Ctr., off Rts. 73 & 130.

OCT. 21,22 - Wilkes-Barre, PA - Wilkes-Barre Coin Club Show, Bishop Hoban High School, 159 S. Penn Ave.

OCT. 27-29 - Monroeville, PA - P.A.N. 17th ANNUAL CONVENTION, Pittsburgh ExpoMart, Route 22, Monroeville, PA (Tpke Exit 6).

Gerald T. Krupa - Numismatist

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JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE

LT. COL. JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE

by Thomas A. Kostaluk

London in the Bush

London, Ontario, Canada is situated at the principal forks of the Thames River, where the branches from the north and southeast meet. Because of its forks, the Indians called the river Askunesippi, or "The Antlered One." The area around the forks was first occupied by the Attawandaron Indians. The French surnamed them "The Neutrals," not without reason. As Father Lalemond explains, "For this country being the ordinary land route of some Iroquois tribes and of the Hurons, who are sworn enemies, they kept themselves equally at peace with both."

Mounds of earth which once marked the outer walls of a fortified Attawandron village can still be faintly seen on the west bank of the Medway Creek, near the present intersection of Hutton and Gainsborough Roads. There were about forty of these fortified villages in southwestern Ontario containing (so the Jesuit Father Brebeuf estimated) about 12,000 persons, including 4,000 warriors. The neutrals were wiped out in attacks by the Iroquois in the fall of 1650 and the spring of 1651.

Their villages were destroyed and abandoned, and the survivors scattered to the west and south. The Iroquois used the area as a hunting ground for beaver. Lieutenant Colonel John Graves Simcoe was the first European who visualized the forks as an ideal site for a settlement. In fact, he judged it to be "a situation eminently calculated for the metropolis of all Canada." He was first Lieutenant Governor of the newly established Province of Upper Canada. in February, 1793.

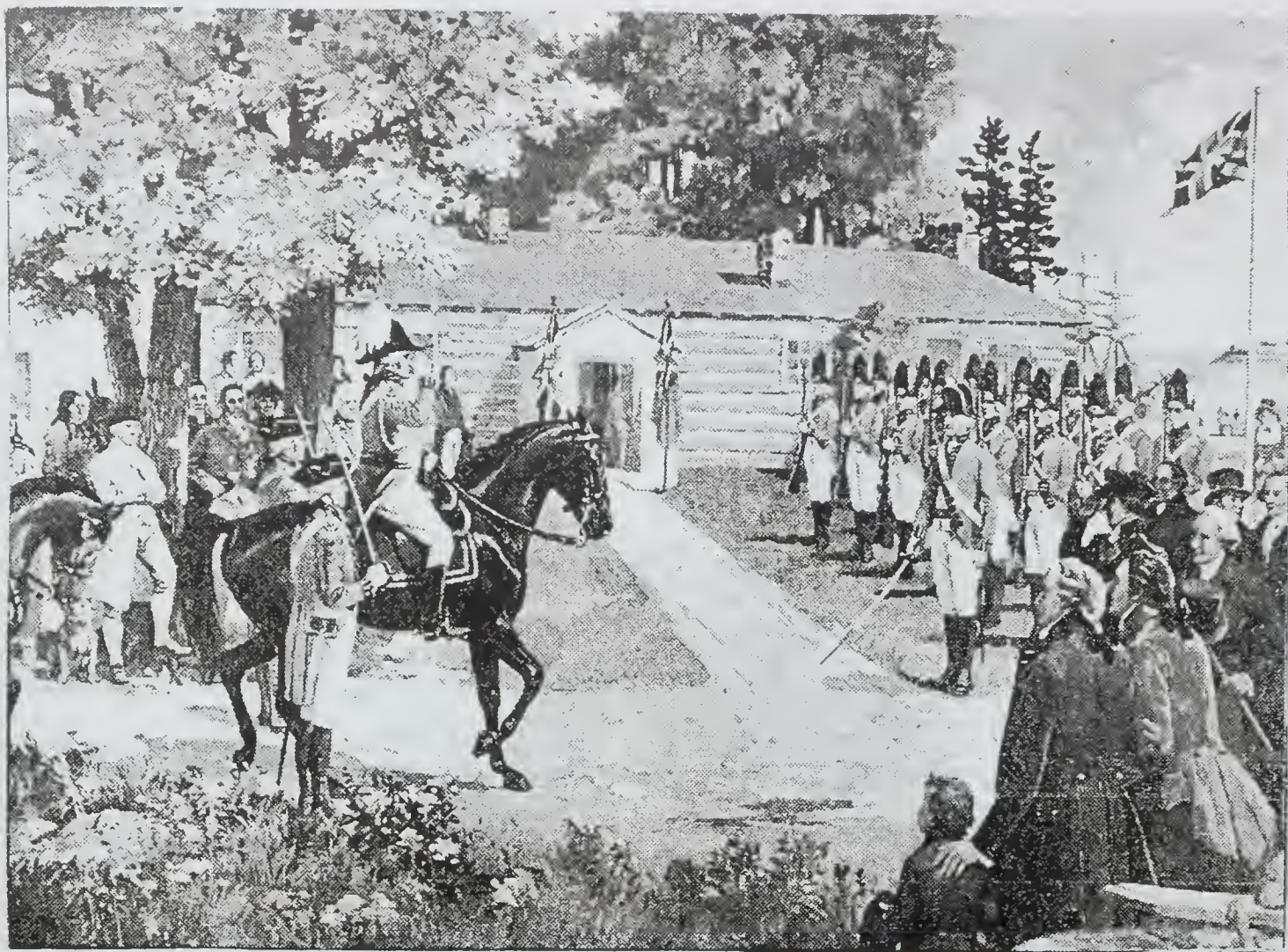
Simcoe Would Be Amazed...

When John Graves Simcoe paused at the upper forks of the Thames to envision his dream city - Georgianna-On-Thames - as capital of the province, he saw future development in the form of government buildings, the houses of various administrators, and some commercial outlets. Simcoe's dream capital never came about.

Instead, York (now Toronto) became the provincial capital. This choice - in the long-range view - probably was more logical: a central location contrasted to one in the western half of the province. But Simcoe's visit to the forks in the 1790s did produce a town plot, and in 1826, when a new administrative centre for the London district was sought, the location was available and was chosen. Politics played their role - St. Thomas fighting to the last against the London selection - but in the end the forks became the site of the district capital.

Simcoe's Dream

John Graves Simcoe, first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, arrived at the future site of London, Ontario on March 2, 1793. The region was heavily forested and snow-covered. Deer, bear and wolf tracks in the snow showed the only evidence of life in the area. That evening, Simcoe and his men dined on porcupine given to them by Indians who had accompanied them on their trek. When he reached the forks of the Thames and saw the area for the first time, Simcoe became a man with a vision. The shape of what is now a major Canadian city with a population of more than 30,000 began in Simcoe's mind that day. Simcoe was born in Cotterstock, Northamptonshire, England on February 25, 1752.



ABOVE: John Graves Simcoe, the First Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, arrives in 1792 to open the first Parliament (present location of Ontario).
 BELOW: London Bicentennial bronze-copper medal issued in 1993 by the Bell of Canada, London, Ontario, the London Board of Education, and Middlesex Roman Catholic School Board. There were 293,000 minted, and are now very hard to find. Obverse shows Simcoe, with family of three in background. The reverse of the medal shows the logo of the London 200th Anniversary.



After a military career as Commander of the Queen's Rangers in the American Revolutionary War, he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada by King George III in 1791. He was described as ambitious and full of energy. He studied maps of Upper Canada before leaving England, and his strong military background left him planning the defense of his colony before he had even seen the area. He arrived in Upper Canada in June of 1792.

Simcoe's London: Why Important?

John Graves Simcoe was a man who rarely took half measures when performing his duty. An impressive, muscular figure who was nearly six feet tall, Simcoe personally explored vast tracts of Upper Canada, planning future lines of communication, settlement and defense as he went. Needless to say, the modern reader, taking into consideration the difficulties of wilderness travel in Upper Canada in the 1790s.

Simcoe was determined in 1793 to make a detailed assessment of the British position on the western frontier of Upper Canada.

A dozen or so soldiers left Newark (today's Niagara-on-the-Lake), the tiny capital of Upper Canada, located at the mouth of the Niagara River. Their destination was Fort Detroit, which would remain in British hands until 1796. In order to make a thorough reconnaissance of this area, the Lieutenant Governor and his men would travel mostly on foot through the dense and forbidding forest. Major Littlehales, in his journal, estimated that the route they followed from Newark to Fort Detroit was some 270 miles (432 km) one way, roughly following the Grand and the Thames Rivers. The latter river's French name of "LaTranche" (meaning the "ditch" or "trench") had recently been changed by Simcoe because, in the Lieutenant Governor's mind, the

name "Thames" more accurately reflected the river's future importance to Upper Canada. Simcoe, the senior civil and military official in Upper Canada, was also a key figure in a tense political standoff between the British and the Americans.

At that time, war between the two countries was a very likely proposition, and Simcoe knew that he did not have the resources for even a modest defense. There were only some 400 soldiers of Simcoe's regiment (the Queen's Rangers) along with a few other units concentrated in isolated garrisons, available to him for protection of the 10,000 or so settlers who were scattered from Detroit to Kingston. In the early 1790s, war threatened Upper Canada on two fronts.

London did not become a settlement until 1793 for several reasons. There was the unsettled international situation that existed between the future United States and Britain, a difficulty that would distract Simcoe from his plans. There was also the problem of resources needed to build in the wilderness, and these resources were always in scant supply, especially when the threat of war loomed. Also, other settlement sites - primarily Toronto - were much more promising for immediate and rapid development. Simcoe's visit to the London site in March, 1793 was part of a larger strategy designed to make the remote and underpopulated colony of Upper Canada the heartland of North America.

Early Influences?

Only a daring (and perhaps somewhat foolhardy) man with great confidence in his personal abilities would be able to stake his career on so audacious a proposal. What was it about his background that would enable him to focus so single-mindedly on the London project? Born in England in 1752, his father (and namesake) Capt. John Graves Simcoe was the only one of four sons to survive beyond their

early childhood. His mother, Katherine Stamford, was widowed in 1759, as her husband died of pneumonia while serving on General Wolfe's expedition against Quebec.

A city on the Thames River was Lieutenant Governor John Graves

Simcoe's dream in 1793. His campsite was initially in native territory in Upper Canada. A permanent London settlement became a reality in 1826...and finally, in 1855, London became a full-fledged city.

Thus, Simcoe's dream was realized.

.....

Biography: Simcoe's Choice Bicentennial, Guy St. Denis; London 200 Committee City of London; London, Ontario Public Library; Simcoe's - A Biography of Lieutenant John Graves Simcoe.

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.....

The Author: Mr. Thomas A. Kostaluk, a resident of London, Ontario, is a member of the Brantford Numismatic, Ingersoll Coin Club, Life Member of the Ontario Numismatic Association, and several organizations in the United States, including the Central States, Middle Atlantic, Michigan State, and the Pennsylvania Association of Numismatists. He was Area #1 Director of O.N.A. from 1983 to 1993; and he is now O.N.A. 2nd Vice-President, 1993-1997.



London 200th Anniversary Two-Dollar Medallion was issued by the London Chamber of Commerce. Minted at the Sherritt Mint, they were struck in six metals: nickel, silver-plated, antique copper-plated, .999 fine silver, gold-plated, and .9 troy oz. pure gold. The nickel was available from July 15 to Sept. 10, 1993. The first minting of 50,000 was sold out in four weeks; another 65,000 were restruck...and are now hard to locate. Obverse shows bust of Simcoe. Reverse shows historic Middlesex County Court House (built 1829), modeled after Malahide Castle, Dublin, Ireland.

MONEY TALKS: The Numismatic Radio Show

MONEY TALKS is a one-minute radio spot produced by the A.N.A. in Colorado Springs. They run daily, and each covers a different topic related to coins, medals, tokens or paper money. It began in October, 1992, and now reaches about 100 stations across the U.S.

If you'd like to hear the show on your local airwaves, write to your public broadcasting station and request **MONEY TALKS**. It's provided free of charge. For info, contact Education Director, Am. Numis. Assn., 818 N. Cascade Ave., Colo. Springs, CO 80903. (Phone (719) 632-2646)

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Here's a sample (from June 1, 1995):

THE BUFFALO NICKEL MODELS

by Thomas S. LaMarre

It isn't often that a coin receives fan mail. But back in 1913, the Treasury Department received hundreds of letters from people who wanted to know the identity of the Native American on the new nickel.

This is "A-N-A's "Money Talks," and it was in 1911 that sculptor James Earl Fraser began designing the "Buffalo" nickel. Fraser said the portrait on the "heads" side was a composite of three American Indians - Iron Tail, Big Tree and Two Moons.

Fraser had the opportunity to study and photograph them when they stopped off in New York on their way to Washington to visit President Theodore Roosevelt. By borrowing features from each individual, Fraser was able to sketch the "ideal" portrait for the nickel.

The model for the "tails" side of the coin was none other than Black Diamond, the most contrary animal in New York's Bronx Zoo. He was born out of stock donated by the Barnum and Bailey Circus. In his prime, his coat was unusually dark, and he weighed more than 1,500 pounds.

Fraser stood for hours, trying to catch his form and mood in clay. But Black Diamond stubbornly refused to show his side view, and faced the artist most of the time. Only by bribing a zoo attendant to distract the animal was Fraser finally able to capture the likeness he wanted.

President William Howard Taft approved the art work, and the first "Buffalo" nickels were produced in February of 1913. Two Moons died in 1917, and Iron Tail and Big Tree in the 1920s. In the 1960s, a second Big Tree appeared at coin shows and claimed to be the Native American on the nickel. Although he claimed to have celebrated his 100th birthday in 1962, later records indicated he was actually only 87.

This has been "Money Talks." Today's program was written by Tom LaMarre and underwritten by Western Publishing Company, serving collectors for more than 50 years. "Money Talks" is a copyrighted production of the American Numismatic Association, 818 North Cascade Avenue, Colorado Springs, Colorado 80903, 719-632-2646.

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Good Help is Hard to Find: Some Notes Regarding the Moneyers, Die-Cutters and the Production of Coinage at the Mint of London in and after the Reign of Coenwulf of Mercia (796-821)

F. Tomlinson Fort

I. Introduction:

The coinage of the first quarter of the ninth century has not attracted as much attention as that of the late eighth century which witnessed the introduction of the broad silver penny by King Offa of Mercia (757-796).¹ One of the main reasons for this is the massive study of the early ninth century southern English coinage that was published by Blunt, Lyon and Stewartby more than thirty years ago.² This work was so

¹ It is often said that no man is an island and this maxim was never more true in the case of a numismatic scholar. This work would not have been possible without the help of numerous people. Special thanks must go to the librarians of both the New Kensington Campus of Penn State and La Roche College who helped the author obtain copies of a number of the works cited in the footnotes. Richard H. Hayes and Wayne K. Homren read earlier drafts of this work and saved the author from numerous gross errors in both fact and grammar. Finally, special thanks must go to my wife Malgorzata who has had to live with her husband working on this essay for many months, both her patience and encouragement have been invaluable. An earlier version of this paper was given in April 1994 at the Twenty-Ninth International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University, the author would like to thank all of the participants in the session for their helpful comments and suggestions. However, any and all errors that remain are exclusively those of the author.

² C.E. Blunt, C.S.S. Lyon and B.H.I.H. Stewart [now Lord

Stewartby], 'The coinage of southern England, 796-840,' *BNJ* 32 (1963), pp.1-74. The following abbreviations are used: *AB* = *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. F. Grat, J. Vielliard and S. Clémencet, with introduction and notes by L. Levillain (Paris, 1964); *BAR* = *British Archaeological Reports*; *BAR-IS* = *British Archaeological Reports--International Series*; *BMA*=*British Museum Acquisitions*; *AF* = *Annales Fuldenses*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usus Scholarum*, ed. F. Kurze (Hanover, 1891); *ASC* = *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. D. Whitelock, D.C. Douglas and S.I. Tucker (London, 1961); *Asser* = *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi*, in *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. W.H. Stevenson, with revisions by D. Whitelock (Oxford, 1959); *BMC* = C.F. Keary and H.A. Grueber, *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series*, 2 vols. (London, 1887-93); *BMC. Vand* = W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards and of the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicaea and Trebizond in the British Museum* (London, 1911); *BNJ* = *British Numismatic Journal*; *CH* = Christie's; *GE* = John Gerard auctioneer; *GL* = Glendinings; *MEC. I* = P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 1: *The Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1986); *IBCH* = J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600-1500* (London, 1956); *LE* = Leigh, Sotheby & Son; *MG* = K.F. Morrison and H. Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage* (New York, 1967); *P.* = M. Prou, *Les monnaies carolingiennes* (*Catalogue des monnaies*



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

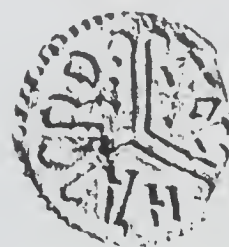


Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



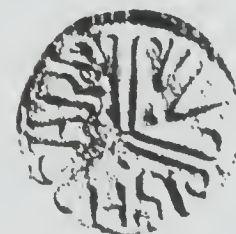
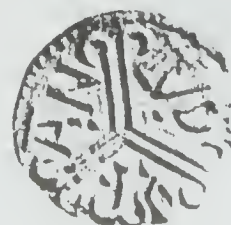
Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



comprehensive in its coverage that it seems to have virtually ended all inquiries into the coinage of the early ninth century for almost a generation. Likewise, it may be that Coenwulf's reign has often been perceived by modern historians and numismatists as the twilight of the Mercian hegemony and is therefore less interesting than the longer reigns of his two predecessors Æthelbald (716-757) and Offa.³

Coenwulf's coinage is the only contemporary documentary evidence for his reign that survives in fairly substantial numbers. Nevertheless, it presents many difficulties to both historians and numismatists. This is especially true with the coinage attributed to the mint at London. At the end of the eighth century more moneyers seem to have been working at London than at Canterbury [See Table I]. However, by the end of the second decade of the ninth century this situation had changed. It was Canterbury which had the larger contingent of moneyers, while London had noticeably declined both in the number of moneyers as well as in the quality of the workmanship displayed by

françaises de la Bibliothèque Nationale) (Paris, 1896); *R&F* = Rollin & Feuarent; *S* = P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters. An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1967); *SCBI* = *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*; *SFAS&NC* = 'Single finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins'; *SNC* = *Spink's Numismatic Circular*; *SO* = Sotheby's; *TSAM* = D.M. Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford*, 3 vols (London, 1993-4).

³ The picture of Coenwulf's reign as the Mercian twilight is the product of F.M. Stenton's two classic works, 'The supremacy of the Mercian kings,' *English Historical Review* 33 (1918), pp.433-52 [reprinted in his *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), pp.48-66] and *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1971), pp.202-38.

the die-cutters. This change had far reaching consequences since Canterbury would remain the principal mint of the southern English until the reign of Alfred of Wessex (871-899).

Using the surviving numismatic, chronicle and charter evidence this paper will consider the possible reasons behind the decline of the London mint and what light this sheds upon both Coenwulf's administration and the economic conditions during the reign. It will begin with a brief overview of the history of the mint followed by a consideration of the evidence for the administration of coining activity at London during the first quarter of the ninth century and the location(s) of the mint. Finally it will examine the mint's repeated decline and rise in the ninth century. Before the reader proceeds any farther the author must warn the reader that this essay will raise more questions than it answers. Yet, these problems should be considered even if the evidence, at present, does not yield any firm conclusions.

II. Numismatic History of the London Mint:

The production of coinage in the area of London seems to have begun by the third quarter of the seventh century. This is evidenced by the gold thrymsa bearing the legend AVDVARLD REGES with a diademed right facing bust on the obverse and a somewhat blundered legend reading LLONDENV around a central cross on the reverse.⁴ Moreover, there is another series of thrymsas without a legend and a

⁴ Ex R.C. Lockett (*GL* 6.vi.1955: 130); ex Lord Grantley (*GL* 27.i.1944: 595); ex Ponton d'Amécourt (*R&F* 9.vi.1890: 658); ex C. Robert (d.1887); found at Pas de Calais [Fig. 1]. This coin has the same obverse die as one in the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford) *TSAM* I.50; ex Lord Grantley (*GL* 27.i.1944); ex C.M. Lefroy (*SO* I.xi.1895: 60); ex Crondall (Hampshire) hoard, 1828. However, the later coin has a blundered reverse legend which gives no clue as to the location where it was produced.

front facing bust on the obverse but with the inscription LONDVNIV around a Latin cross on the reverse.⁵ The former coin type has been attributed to King Eadbald of Kent (616-640) but due to the garbled legend this attribution is uncertain at best.⁶

With the replacement of the gold thrymsa series by the silver sceata series in the late seventh century, London still seems to have remained a place of coin production. There is a series of sceattas with the obverse legend DE LVNDONIA or LVNDONIA, or blundered attempts, around a diademed right facing bust along with a reverse depicting a man holding two long crosses.⁷ Unfortunately, the anonymous character of the sceata series makes it impossible to be certain whether or not coin production continued at London throughout the late seventh and first half of the eighth century.

In the reign of Offa of Mercia minting activity is again evident at London. While there are no coins bearing a London mint signature from Offa's reign there are a number of pieces of numismatic evidence that suggest a great amount of production there. Foremost among these is the series of coins studied by Blunt, Lyon and Stewartby.⁸ They noted that among the moneyers active early in the reign of Coenwulf there were a number who did not strike for either the Kentish king Eadberht "Præn" (796-798)

or the East Anglian ruler Eadwald (c. 796- c. 798?). Likewise, they pointed out that the coins produced by these moneyers were of a different style than those used by the moneyers active at Canterbury or in East Anglia. Their conclusion was that there must have been a mint active in Mercian territory and that the most likely site was London.

In addition to this stylistic analysis, there is also the series of pennies bearing both the names of King Offa and Bishop Eadberht of London.⁹ Blunt was somewhat reluctant to accept this attribution due to the fact that in the Grately code of King Athelstan the bishop of London is not listed as having minting rights.¹⁰ However, conditions in the tenth century were far different from those in the late eighth and it is now accepted that Bishop Eadberht did hold minting rights during the late 780s. Building upon his colleagues' earlier conclusions about minting activity at London, Lord Stewartby has made a detailed study of the stylistic similarities between the coins of Bishop Eadberht as well as those produced by Mercian moneyers who were active both early in the reign of Coenwulf and the reign of Offa and the other moneyers active in Offa's reign. His conclusion was that a substantial number of moneyers were active at London by the mid-780s and that

⁵ See for example: Ashmolean Museum (Oxford); *TSAM* I.53; ex Lord Grantley (*GL* 27.i.1944); ex C.M. Lefroy (*SO* 1.xi.1895: 60); ex Crondall (Hampshire) hoard, 1828 [Fig. 2].

⁶ C.H.V. Sutherland, *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the Light of the Crondall Hoard* (Oxford, 1948), pp.52-3.

⁷ See for example: Hunterian Museum (Glasgow); *SCBI* 2.83; ex W. Hunter (d.1783) [Fig. 3]. The author is currently preparing a more detailed examination of the reverse type of this coinage.

⁸ Blunt, Lyon and Stewart (1963), pp.5-8.

⁹ See for example: British Museum (London); *BMC* i.41 (p.30); ex R. Southgate (d.1795); ex J. Browne (*GE* 2.vi.1791: 41) [Fig. 4]; and British Museum (London); *BMC* i.43 (p.31); ex Duke of Devonshire (*CH* 26.iii.1844: 10).

¹⁰ C.E. Blunt, 'The coinage of Offa,' in *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ed. R.H.M. Dolley (London, 1961), pp.43-4. II Athelstan 14.2 [in *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, ed. F.L. Attenborough (Cambridge, 1922)] states the the archbishop of Canterbury had the profits of two moneyers, the abbot of St. Augustine's Canterbury the profits of one moneyer and the bishop of Rochester one.

London certainly equalled and may even have outranked the mint at Canterbury in importance.¹¹

III. The Administration of the Mint:

The only evidence we possess for the administration of the London mint is the surviving coinage. While it must be admitted from the beginning that this evidence is quite limited, it does provide some important information concerning mint operations.

First, as Pagan has pointed out, it is an open question whether or not we should actually use the term "mint" when we are referring to coin production at in a specific area during this period.¹² There are no known obverse die-links between the coins of different moneyers; this is a strong indication that they worked in separate establishments. This is a feature not inconsistent from that of the later Anglo-Saxon period. The Winton Domesday indicates that in the eleventh century the moneyers at Winchester worked in separate buildings though these were located in roughly the same area of the High Street.¹³ However, in the late tenth and eleventh centuries there are a number of obverse die-links between moneyers at the same mint; this suggests that while moneyers may have been employed in their own workshops, they seem to have stored their dies (or at least the obverse ones) in the same place. This does not seem to have been the case

in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. This lack of die-links between moneyers consequently suggests that each man worked from his own establishment and stored his own dies wherever he chose.

Nor can one be certain how many moneyers were active at one time or if the moneyers produced coins at a consistent rate or only sporadically. The only firm evidence for the number of moneyers active at a certain period is to look at the number of moneyers who were active both at the end of the reign of one ruler and at the beginning of the reign of his successor. Table I indicates that when Offa reformed the coinage in c. 793 five moneyers were using London style dies. On the other hand, at the time of Offa's death and Coenwulf's accession in 796 seven moneyers seem to have been active. However, by 821 when Coenwulf died and his brother Ceolwulf succeeded to the Mercian throne only three moneyers seem to have been striking at London.

Beyond these periods of transition it is difficult to establish the number of employed moneyers at an exact period of time. Although one can determine the number of moneyers active during the various phases of Coenwulf's coinage. The shortest, and consequently most datable period is that produced at the beginning of the reign (c.796-c.800?). The coinage of this phase consists of the so-called 'Two-Line' and 'Tribrach' types and Blunt and his colleagues identified some ten moneyers (Ceolheard, Deala, Eama, Eanmund, Hludoman, Ibba, Pendwine (?), Wigheard, Wilhun and Winoth) using London style dies.¹⁴

¹¹ See I. Stewart, 'The London mint and the coinage of Offa,' in *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, ed. M.A.S. Blackburn (Leicester, 1986), pp.27-44.

¹² H. Pagan, 'Coinage in southern England, 796-874,' in *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, ed. M.A.S. Blackburn (Leicester, 1986), p.49.

¹³ M. Biddle and D.J. Keene, 'Winchester in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,' in *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages. An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday*, ed. M. Biddle (Oxford, 1976), pp.397-400.

¹⁴ Blunt, Lyon and Stewart (1963), pp.5-8 and also I. Stewart, 'Winoth, a new moneyer for Coenwulf,' *SNC* 96 (1988), p.147. See for example: 1. Ceolheard: British Museum (London); *BMC* i.92 (p.38); ex S. Tyssen (d.1801) [Fig. 5]. 2. Deala: Ex R.P. Mack (d.1974); *SCBI* 20.579' ex D. Matthews (d.1970); ex J. Evans (d.1908); ex Delgany (Co. Wicklow)



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19

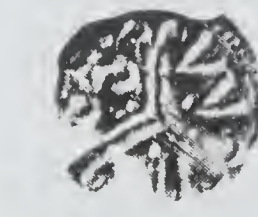


Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



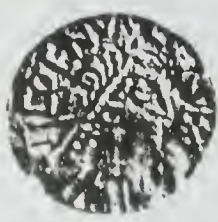
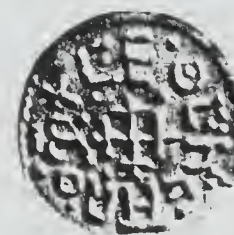
Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Although since only three of these are known to have struck the later portrait series (from c. 800-821) it seems likely

hoard, 1874 [Fig. 6]; and Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge); ex C.E. Blunt (d.1987); ex F.J. Shand (*GL* 8.iii.1949: 292); ex A. Mann (*SO* 29.x.1917: 136); ex P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton (*SO* 17.xi.1913: 280); ex E.W. Rashleigh (*SO* 21.vi.1909: 47); ex J.D. Cuff (*SO* 8.vi.1854: 289); ex Dorking (Surrey) hoard, 1817 [Fig. 7]. Eama: Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge); ex C.E. Blunt (d.1987); ex G.C. Drabble (*GL* 4.vii.1939: 331); ex J. Evans (d.1908); ex B. Borghesi (*Dura* 24.iv.1880: 1369) [Fig. 8]. Eanmund: British Museum (London); *BMC* i.95 (p.38); ex Cotton collection [Fig. 12]. Hludoman: British Museum (London); *BMA*. 102; ex J. Evans (d.1908); found c. 1870 [Fig. 9] and Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge); ex C.E. Blunt (d.1987); ex R.C. Lockett (*GL* 26.iv.1960: 3591); ex G.C. Drabble (*GL* 4.vii.1939: 813); ex Coles; ex W.M. Maish (*SO* 25.iii.1918: 6); ex A.S. Napier (d.1914); ex E.H. Evans (*SO* 30.v.1894: 7); ex H. Montagu (*SO* 7.v.1888: 10); ex W. Brice (d.1887); ex B. Borghesi (*Dura* 24.iv.1880: 1368); possibly found in Italy [Fig. 10]. Ibba: British Museum (London); ex R.C. Lockett (*GL* 4.xi.1958: 2658); found in Shropshire [Fig. 11]. Pendwine: Ex Lord Grantley (*GL* 22.iii.1944: 852); ex J. Evans (d.1908); ex Delgany (Co. Wicklow) hoard, 1874 [the current whereabouts of this unique piece are unknown as is any photo, consequently it is no certain if this moneyer was using London style dies or not]; Wigheard: British Museum (London); *BMC* i.101 (p.39); ex Duke of Devonshire (*CH* 26.iii.1844: 25) [Fig. 13]. Wilhun: Ashmolean Museum (Oxford); *SCBI*. 9.17; ex T. Knight (d.1795); ex T. Barrett (d.1792) [Fig. 14] and British Museum (London); ex R.C. Lockett (*GL* 26.iv.1960: 3592); ex Miller; ex E.W. Rashleigh (*SO* 21.vi.1909: 48) [Fig. 15]. Winoth: In Spink inventory (1988); acquired 1983 [Fig. 16].

that the previous period may have been one of transition since seven of the ten 'Tribrach' moneyers had also worked under Offa and may have been at the end of their careers. Likewise, the revolts against Mercian rule in both East Anglia and Kent in the early years of Coenwulf's reign may have caused the king to concentrate coin production in London since the mints in the other two provinces were not under his control.

Coenwulf's portrait series (c. 800-821) is known to have been struck by some five moneyers (Ælhun, Ceolbeald, Ceolheard, Eanmund and Wigheard) using London style dies.¹⁵ At present,

¹⁵ Blunt, Lyon and Stewart (1963), pp.31-3. See for example: Ælhun: Ex Westminster School (*SO* 26.v.1976: 347); ex C.B. Scott (pres. before 1883); ex Delgany (Co. Wicklow) hoard, 1874 [Fig. 17] and British Museum (London); *BMA*. 72; ex J. Evans (d.1908); ex Delgany (Co. Wicklow) hoard [Fig. 18]. Ceolbeald: Hunterian Museum (Glasgow); *SCBI*. 2.343; ex W. Hunter (d.1783) [Fig. 19] and British Museum (London); *BMC* i.64 (p.34); ex Jervoise (pres. 1861) [Fig. 20]. Ceolheard: British Museum (London); *BMA*. 54; ex H. Montagu (*SO* 18.xi.1895: 230); ex W. Brice (d.1886); ex J.B. Bergne (d.1873); ex R.M. Murchison (bt.1866); ex T.F. Dymock (d.1858) [Fig. 21] and British Museum (London); ex R.C. Lockett (*GL* 6.vi.1955: 367); ex Lord Grantley (*GL* 22.iii.1944: 848); ex Delgany (Co. Wicklow) hoard, 1874 [Fig. 22]. Eanmund: Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge); ex C.E. Blunt (d.1987); ex D. Mangakis [Fig. 23]. Wigheard: Hunterian Museum (Glasgow); *SCBI*. 2.348; ex W. Hunter (d.1783) [Fig. 24]. Blunt, Lyon and Stewart (1963), p.33 also identify a sixth moneyer, Æthelmod, known from two pieces with blundered reverse inscriptions reading ERETCODMONET. E.T. Fort, 'Two more imitations of Mercian coins,' *SNC* 98 (1990), p.231 has argued that these two coins are in fact contemporary

without further hoard or documentary evidence it is impossible to work out a firm chronology for either these men or the types that they struck. However, since three of them struck the earlier 'Tribrach' type and another three were active at the very end of the reign it is probable that this represented the usual number of men with the right to produce coinage at London.¹⁶ Yet, while the number of active moneyers seems to have been small, they seem to have had fairly long tenure in office. This is suggested by both the number of varieties known to have been produced at the moneyers' workshops and the small number of die-links among the number of known specimens.¹⁷

However, one must also take into account the extreme rarity of London-

imitations and not official products of the London mint. Consequently the moneyer Æthelmod does not seem to have existed.

¹⁶ It should also be noted that one London moneyer may have produced portrait coins at the mint of Canterbury. During the 'Tribrach' phase London style dies were used by the moneyer Deala, whose name generally appears as DIOLA on the reverse inscription on the coins. This moneyer is not known to have struck the portrait series with London style dies. On the other hand, a moneyer whose name appears as DEALLA is known for Coenwulf's portrait coinage struck at Canterbury. The two names are linguistically the same (see V.J. Smart, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isle*, vol. 28: *Cumulative Index* (London, 1981), p.26). Yet this possible connection should not be taken too strongly since the Canterbury Deala is not known to have been active in that area when Coenwulf's brother Cuthred (798-805) had control over the mint. This gap of over five years between the end of the moneying career of the London Deala and the beginning of that of the Canterbury one suggests that in this case we are dealing with two separate individuals.

¹⁷ See the corpus in Blunt, Lyon and Stewart (1963).

produced coins in comparison with those produced at the other mints during Coenwulf's reign. The reader should be reminded that the rarity of London coins may simply be due to the lack of hoard evidence. Much of what we know of Coenwulf's coinage is derived from the Delgany hoard which was deposited in Ireland, an area well outside of Mercian rule, and which was particularly rich in coins struck by moneyers using Canterbury style dies.¹⁸ This hoard may thus provide some distortion of the evidence. Nevertheless, the fact that each type struck by a London moneyer is known from only one, or at most two specimens, may be an indication that there were periods in Coenwulf's reign when coins were not being produced at London.

The fact that modern scholars have been able to stylistically group the coins produced by the moneyers of this period is an indication that the moneyers at a particular location received their dies from the same source, probably from the same die-cutter. In the later Anglo-Saxon period the moneyers had to pay the king for their dies which they received from a regional source.¹⁹ The same may be the case in the earlier period but there is no documentary evidence to confirm or deny it. That moneyers at the same location received their dies from one source may simply be an indication that they found it more expedient to deal with one man.

The shortcomings of receiving dies from a single source can be seen in the coinage. Much has been made by numismatists and historians of the high

¹⁸ *IBCH* no.117 (pp.43-4); J. Evans, 'On a hoard of early Anglo-Saxon coins found in Ireland,' *NC*³ 2 (1882), pp.61-86; H.A. Pagan and N.G. Rhodes, 'Anglo-Saxon coins in the Westminster School collection,' *BNJ* 31 (1962), pp.11-26.

¹⁹ I. Stewart, 'The English and Norman mints, c. 600-1158,' in *A New History of the Royal Mint*, ed. C.E. Challis (Cambridge, 1992), p.56.



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33

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quality of the workmanship exhibited in the coinage of Offa, especially during the portrait phase which lasted from c. 780 to c. 785. However, while there are a number of specimens in this series which show great die-cutting skill there are also some which suggest that quality control was not always uppermost in the die-cutter's mind.²⁰ This decline in quality is not a phenomenon unique to the Anglo-Saxons. If one compares the bronze folles produced at Rome for the Ostrogothic king Theodahad (534-536) with those produced for Justinian shortly after the eternal city came under his control, the drop-off in artistic quality is evident.²¹ Closer to the period under discussion in this paper is the example of the imperial bust coinage of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious that was produced

between c. 812 and c.819.²² Most of those coins produced during Charlemagne's reign (between c. 812 and 814) show good workmanship, but a decline in quality is easily evidenced in the surviving specimens from the reign of Louis.²³ Likewise, in Britain, when a portrait coinage was introduced in c. 800 for Coenwulf and his brother Cuthred of Kent, and at a later date (c.805) for Archbishop Wulfred of Canterbury, the portraiture is much more stylized and obviously easier for the die-cutters to produce quickly at a fairly large scale.

This decline in artistic quality seems to have been something of which mint authorities were aware at least on occasion. Late in Coenwulf's reign the moneyers Ælhun,²⁴ Ceolbeald²⁵ and

²⁰ Compare for example the coins of the London moneyer Dud: Ex. R.P. Mack (d.1974) [not in sylloge]; ex R.C. Lockett (*GL* 6.vi.1955: 350) [Fig. 25] and British Museum (London); *BMC* i.28 (p.29); ex S. Tyssen (d.1801) [Fig. 26]; and the Canterbury moneyer Eoba for Offa's wife Cynethryth: British Museum (London); *BMC* i.60 (p.33); ex S. Tyssen (d.1801); found at Eastbourne (Sussex) [Fig. 27] and Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge); *MEC* I.1132= *SCBI* 1.396; ex R.C. Lockett (*GL* 6.vi.1955: 361); ex H. Montagu (*SO* 18.xi.1895: 224); ex W. Brice (d.1887); ex W. Webster (bt. 1877); found in Hampshire, c. 1877 [Fig. 28].

²¹ For example, compare Theodahad: *BMC. Vand.* 19-24 and Justinian: *BMC. Vand.* 1-14. For the decline of die-cutter workmanship in the coinage of this period see J.P.C. Kent, 'Presidential address: Roman imperial coinage in decline,' *NC* 148 (1988), pp.iii-xiii; and E.T. Fort, 'INVICTA ROMA: the mint of Rome under Odovacar and the Ostrogoths A.D. 476-554,' *Proceedings of the Western Pennsylvania Numismatic Society* 1 (1994), pp.19-30, esp. 29-30, reprinted without illustrations in *Clurion* 11/3 (1994), pp.19-30.

²² For the dating of this series see J. Lafaurie, 'Les monnaies impériales de Charlemagne,' *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1978, pp.154-72; and P. Grierson and M.A.S. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 1: *The Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1986), pp.209-10, 213.

²³ Compare, Charlemagne: P.972 [uncertain mint in the eastern part of Empire, incorrectly attributed to Charles the Fat] (p.136); P.981 [mint uncertain] (p.138) [Fig. 29]; P.982 [mint uncertain] (p.138); P.983 [mint uncertain] (p.138); *MEC* I.748 [mint of Arles]; *MEC* I.749 [mint of Quentovic]; *MG* 105 [mint of Dorestadt] (pl.IV); *MG* 167 [mint of Lyon] (pl.VI); *MG* 198 [mint of Arles] (pl.VII) and Louis the Pious: P.43 [mint of Strasbourg] (p.7); P.65 [mint of Dorestadt] (p.63); P.444 [mint of Tours] (p.65); P.507 [mint of Orleans] (p.73); P.565 [mint of Sens] (p.81); P.712 [mint of Melle] (p.99); P.803 [mint of Toulouse] (p.111) [Fig. 30]; P.856 [mint of Arles] (p.119); P.900 [mint of Pavia] (p.126); P.907 [mint of Milan] (pp.126-7); P.984 [mint uncertain] (pp.138-9).

²⁴ Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge); ex C.E. Blunt (d.1987); 'SFAS&NC 2,'

Ceolheard²⁶ adopted a new style of obverse portraiture based upon fourth century Roman Imperial designs. The quality exhibited in these coins during the last years of Coenwulf's reign seems to have quickly declined in Ceolwulf I's,²⁷ this is probably why the die-cutters opted for a non-portrait type later in the reign.

While the expertise of the die-cutter(s) may have slipped at times the actual physical quality of Coenwulf's coinage seems to have largely remained the same.

*BNJ*55 (1985), no.48; ex Seaby; ex R. Heen; found at Methwold (Norfolk), 1985).

²⁵ British Museum (London); *BMC* i.64 (p.34); ex Jervoise (pres. 1861) [Fig.20].

²⁶ British Museum (London); ex R.C. Lockett (*GL* 6.vi.1955: 367); ex Lord Grantley (*GL* 22.iii.1944: 848); ex Delgany (Co. Wicklow) hoard, 1874 [Fig.22].

²⁷ See for example the work of the moneyers Ælhun, Ceolbeald, Ceolheard: Ælhun. ex R.C. Lockett (*GL* 6.vi.1955: 381); ex J. Evans (d.1908); found at Toddington (Bedfordshire) [Fig.31]. Ceolbeald: British Museum (London); *BMA*. 104; ex J. Evans (d.1908); ex Delgany (Co. Wicklow) hoard, 1874 [Fig.32]. Ceolheard: Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge); ex C.E. Blunt (d.1987); ex V.J.E. Ryan (*GL* 22.i.1952: 635); ex Lord Grantley (*GL* 22.iii.1944: 855); ex J. Evans (d.1908); ex Delgany (Co. Wicklow) hoard, 1874 [Fig.33]. This decline in the quality of portraiture was not a phenomenon limited to the London mint. Crude portraits can also be found on coins produced at Rochester [Æthelmod: British Museum (London); *BMA*. 110; ex Middle Temple (London) hoard, 1893], East Anglia [Botræd: British Museum (London); *BMA*. 117; ex J. Evans (d.1908); ex H.B. Godwin; found in north Lincolnshire] and Canterbury [Sigestæf: British Museum (London); *BMA*. 114; ex J. Evans (d.1908); ex Delgany (Co. Wicklow) hoard, 1874].

The analysis of the alloys used in some of the coins from this period suggests that the silver content was usually in excess of 90% and that this level was maintained throughout the reign and beyond.²⁸ Likewise, while no detailed metrological study has been undertaken regarding the coinage of the first quarter of the ninth century, Table II demonstrates that the weight of the coins produced at London seems to have fallen well within the norm of the coins produced at the other mints. These two factors suggest that while Coenwulf's government may not have been that interested in the artistic quality of the coinage, it was very careful about maintaining the metallurgical quality of the pieces and ensured that they came within the acceptable limits of silver content and weight.

TO BE CONTINUED

(Next issue of the CLARION)

²⁸ D.M. Metcalf and J.P. Northover, 'Coinage alloys from the time of Offa and Charlemagne to c. 864,' *NC* 149 (1989), pp.101-19; esp. pp.107-8. In this study the authors conducted electron-probe micro-analysis of six Coenwulf pennies, five from the mint of Canterbury and one from the mint of London. Despite the limitations of the number of specimens, the fact that they range in date from across the reign makes them a good sample for the quality of the silver content. Some years earlier, H. McKerrell and R.B.K. Stevenson, 'Some analyses of Anglo-Saxon and associated oriental silver coinage,' in *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation of Ancient Coinage*, ed. E.T. Hall and D.M. Metcalf (London, 1972), p.205 reported that the chemical analysis of two Coenwulf pennies (by the London moneyers Dealla and Eanmund) which revealed them to be 98% and 96% silver respectively.

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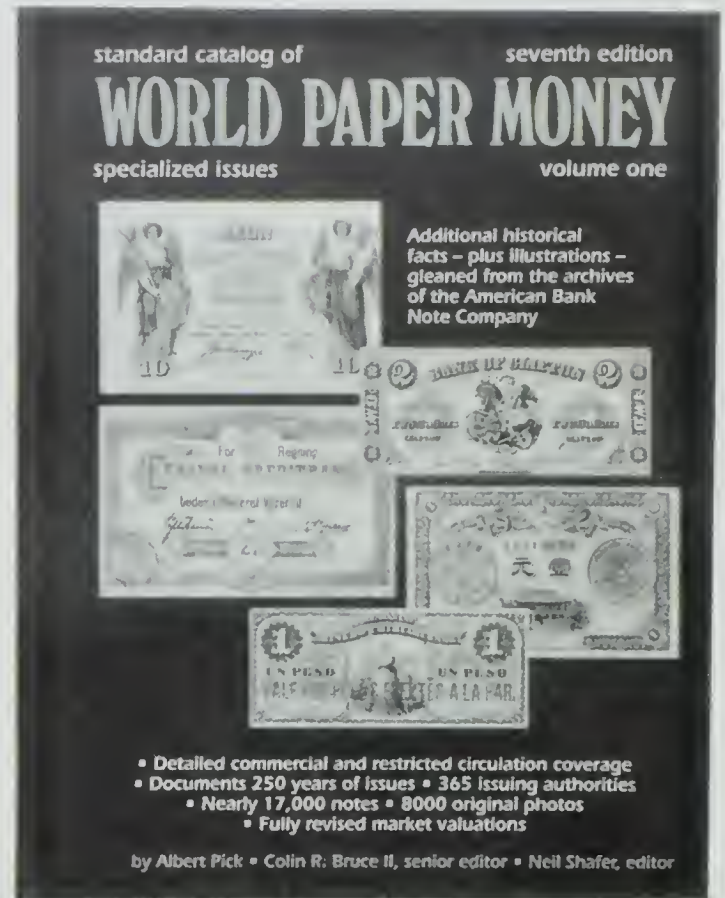
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